The CRISIS

JUNE-JULY, 1953 15c

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WILSON RECOR

How The Taylors Get Results

MANDELL ANDREWS

As Africa Comes Of Age

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

Argentine Diptych— Meliton And Schimu

IRENE DIGGS

To Crisis Subscribers and Readers

The August and September Issues of the Crisis are combined in one Issue, August-September, out September 1

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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June-July, 1953

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George I

CROWNING THE QUEEN—*Herbert Wright (third from left), NAACP national youth secretary, crowns Lola Walden as queen of the Oranges and Maplewood youth membership campaign. Others in the group are Robert Hairston, youth council president, and Everett Felder (on right), program and research chairman.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That Dr. John Vancerlle De Grasse was the first Negro physician to be admitted to a medical association?

Dr. De Grasse, a graduate of Bowdoin and the Hampton Medical College, was admitted to the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1854.

■ **Role of the Negro intellectual in inspiring and organizing racial betterment movements**

Role of the Negro Intellectual

By Wilson Record

ALMOST a decade ago Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* lamented the deep cynicism and the chronic defeatism he observed among Negro intellectuals. At the same time, however, he emphasized that from among this group had come the founders and leaders of numerous movements whose aims were a redressing of the racial balance in this country. Now cynical Negroes do not inspire courage among other members of the race. And if they regard the plight of America's largest racial minority as hopeless, they are not likely to form the spearheads of organized efforts to loosen old bonds, to cast off traditional ties, to achieve new goals and thus improve the position of the race.

Myrdal's views when juxtaposed in this fashion, fairly, and with textual verification, are not easily reconciled. A part of the difficulty lies in his failure to operate with any precise conception of the Negro intellectual. Corollary with this is his neglect to designate specific subtypes of the group to whom certain of his generalizations might apply. The tendency to speak of Negro intellectuals as a more or less homogenuous sub-species of *intellectualus americanus* is all too common. It is not unexpected that it leads, as in the case of Myrdal and others, to apparently contradictory assertions. This is not to say that at certain levels and for certain purposes generalizations of this type are unwarranted. Rather it is to emphasize that it is difficult, if not impossible, to make meaningful statements about Negro intellectuals, or any similar group, unless the specific context and the reference is clear in each instance.

Some Negro intellectuals are chronically cynical and exhibit a quiet but nonetheless bitter resignation to a subordinate place for themselves and the race. But others who have an equally valid claim to the title "intellectual" are extremely optimistic about their individual life chances and those of the group as a whole in an American environment.

WILSON RECORD, *a frequent* CRISIS *contributor, is author of the book "The Negro and the Communist Party."*

Many Negro intellectuals are highly race conscious and display militant color pride while assuming an aggressive stance in the face of accumulated odds of three centuries.

Still others, consumed by self-hatred, when not apologizing for the accident of their origin, seek to shear off the marks of racial identity and thus remove the one thing that is definitive of their being. There are some Negro intellectuals whose primary concern is race; it is always focal in their thinking and acting. And in contrast stand those for whom race is a minor consideration, a fact reflected in the absence or subordinate place of Negro "themes" in their creative efforts. Some Negro intellectuals make a serious attempt to identify with or at least become the spokesmen of their brethren "fartherest down," while others regard themselves as members of an elite; they consciously avoid any gesture or action that would suggest a concern with the colored common man. These variations in the self-images and projected roles of the Negro intellectuals should suggest the difficulty in fitting any quick generalizations to the group as a whole.

SOCIAL SITUATION

Further caution is indicated by the recognition that logically contradictory self-conceptions and outward behavior patterns frequently characterize the individual Negro intellectual. Depending on specific sets of social situations, he may be cynical or optimistic, highly race conscious or indifferent to color, proud of his origin or apologetic for his ancestry, a spokesman for the mass of Negroes or their most severe and detached critic. The resolving of these conflicting tendencies may pose acute problems for some, for those who are unable to compartmentalize varied experiences, who cannot accept their own and the world's irrationalities, and who must always inform the right hand of what the left is doing. For others the problem of logical and consistent integration does not exist. The understanding of the individual Negro intellectual does not hinge upon our ability to apply any neat label which would encompass all his characteristics but upon a capacity to delineate those situations within which he will respond in some characteristic way.

Intellectuals are those persons who by temperament, and usually by profession, are concerned primarily with ideas; that sector of a population, to use Koestler's phrase, "that aspires to independent thinking." Corollary with this preoccupation with ideas is specialization in the use of words and symbols and high achievement in the arts of communication — speaking, reading, and writing. Negro intellectuals display these characteristics, but in addition they are regarded by others—and by themselves—as members of a socially, if not always biologically, defined racial minority. In a society which places such great emphasis on racial and ethnic differences, which stereotypes and segregates and discriminates on the basis of color, the Negro intellectual is bound to acquire certain features not commonly found among the general species, and to react against societal pressures which his pale-skinned colleagues can never really experience.

However, no sub-group of Ne-

groes responds in the same way to a more or less uniform set of pressures in a white dominated society. Negro intellectuals are no exception; on the contrary there is probably less uniformity in their reaction to race prejudice than among any other type within the Negro society. This lack of uniformity is a consequence of several factors—the pronounced individualism which is characteristic of any honest and creative being, the Negro intellectual's wider exposure to alternate ways of behaving, and the complex and highly personalized psychological mesh through which the Negro intellectual in particular filters experience.

INTELLECTUAL TYPES

However, to insist that the response of the Negro intellectual to race prejudice is ultimately individualized is not to suggest that in certain respects it is not highly similar to that of many of his colleagues. Indeed it is possible to devise a system of classification for Negro intellectuals by a continuum along which they may be distributed and within which they may be grouped. Thus we could begin with the "Uncle Tom" type of intellectual (and there are some) on the right and move step-by-step to the radical equalitarians on the other end. We would find that not all Negro intellectuals are cynical, not all are optimistic, not all are defeatist, and not all are aggressive. We would have some specific points of reference in discussing the group as a whole and its various sub-types.

While the general run of intellectuals in America has rarely felt at home, has never had a sense of meaningful social responsibility and usefulness in our business-industrial order, their Negro counterparts have been continuously alienated by a white-dominated society, even though their status is probably higher than that of any other group of Negroes. Contrary to the claims of the economic determinists, this rejection is not a necessary function of our capitalist-type economy although it does bear certain characteristic markings of a bourgeois system.

Negro intellectuals have reacted in a variety of ways to the exclusionist policies with which they are perpetually confronted. Some stand aloof from racial struggle and address themselves to non-racial endeavors. Such a man was William Stanley Braithwaite. Others have chosen to ignore the implications of race, they measure themselves and others as individuals and maintain only a distant identity with race movements. In this connection one thinks immediately of Zora Neale Hurston and of the dark American Daughter, Era Bell Thompson. Some Negro intellectuals have found the American environment at times unendurable and have journeyed to other lands where the color bars do not encompass the mind so completely. This was Claude McKay's response at one time, as well as that of Richard Wright.

ALWAYS RETURN

The fact that they almost invariably return is partial testimony to the failure of their mission. And it underscores the fact that after all, they too are Americans. Other Negro intellectuals have fought back against race prejudice with the weapons which they knew best to em-

ploy—Frederick Douglass with his provocative writings, Kelly Miller with his bitter and ironical jabs at white supremacy, W. E. B. DuBois (at one time) with fine moral courage and scientific sociology, Carter Woodson with historical data and sharp scholarship, James Weldon Johnson with the novel, the poem, the autobiography, and Carl Rowan and Ted Poston with perceptive and thorough reporting which lay bare the less palatable aspects of Negro-white relations, and so on.

While not all colored intellectuals have been in the forefront in criticising and seeking to change a prejudiced society, there is hardly a racial protest or betterment movement which at least some of them have not inspired, organized, and led. The Negro colleagues of Phillips, Garrison, and Lovejoy in the abolitionist movement were primarily intellectuals, free men who had acquired the ability to read, write, and speak and thus to project new goals for their less literate brethren. The convention movement during the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction periods was largely a result of the efforts of teachers, preachers, writers, and professionals among the newly liberated Negroes to maintain their war-won gains and push on in the direction of full citizenship. Even Booker T. Washington, who stood above all for racial peace at the white man's price, could not have shaped the thought and action of a whole generation of colored Americans had not some of the emerging intellectuals of the race sanctioned his program and given it ideological respectability. The break with the accommodationist philosophy of the "Man of Tuskegee" was engineered not by the people who had suffered most and gained least under it, but by Negro intellectuals of the north and east who organized the Niagara Movement and insisted with DuBois and Trotter that they would settle for nothing less than full manhood.

INTELLECTUALS IN NAACP

No one can examine the formation and subsequent development of the NAACP without a keen appreciation of the roles played by DuBois, Trotter, William Pickens, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Henry Lee Moon, and Thurgood Marshall—all men of substantial intellectual achievement. And it is significant that the sharpest criticism of this organization has been voiced not by the "practical" men who thought it was going too far, but by Negro intellectuals such as Ralph Bunche, Oliver Cox, and Langston Hughes, who objected that it was not going far enough. The National Negro Congress, prior to its capture by the communists, was sparked by the Negro academic man, writers, and teachers and social scientists. One important reason for the decline of the National March on Washington Movement is found in the inability of A. Philip Randolph and his colleagues to win any substantial support for its program among Negro intellectuals. Certainly we must conclude that Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association would have endured for a considerable longer time if the support rather than the opposition of the colored writers and talkers had been sought.

Obviously, even those Negro in-

tellectuals who actively participate in the protest and betterment movements to which we have referred are not of like mind. However, they do share together certain significant features. They are concerned primarily with ideas, and they believe that ideas can be used as instruments in the struggle against various forms of white supremacy. They come with very few exceptions from the upper and middle groups of the Negro community. Their educational achievements are high and college training, usually with specialized graduate work, is quite common.

All are men who, if they were not dedicated to racial protest as a profession, would stand relatively high in other occupations of their choosing. All have gained or could gain from our bi-racial society substantially more than their less fortunate fellows whose lot they are out to improve. All of them find in one way or another a much wider acceptance by at least certain segments of the white community than do the non-intellectual members of the race. Most of them are highly race conscious and display marked race pride. While their independent intellectual achievement may account in part for their wider recognition, the fact that they are either active participants in betterment movements or in some form symbolize the aspirations of the mass of Negroes is probably more crucial. And it is quite obvious that, although they manifest a healthy skepticism about what can be done for race betterment and frequently disagree on what ought to be done, they are free of the cynicism which Myrdal ascribes to the bulk of Negro intellectuals.

Now there is nothing contradictory in the fact that these Negro intellectuals who have gained much under the existing patterns of race relations are foremost among those demanding fundamental changes. In this respect their position is similar to that of the colored intellectuals who are emerging as leaders of colonial peoples in Asia and Africa. The Negro man of learning, by virtue of this very learning, is most keenly aware of the gap between professed equalitarian ideals and the practices of discrimination. Not only this, but he is highly conscious of alternate possibilities for racial adjustment. Finally, he has the capacity, which the bulk of his fellow Negroes lack, to communicate his knowledge not only to Negroes, but to a white audience as well.

There is also a personal equation to be considered. The Negro intellectual learns that regardless of how talented he is, or how productive he may be, there will be certain barriers to both his personal and professional achievement. Some can resign themselves to half a loaf and appear thankful for it, but others will demand their just due. And when this is not forthcoming, they are prepared to use such skills as they have in an effort to redress the balance. Thus in giving the Negro intellectual the gift of tongues, or at least permitting him to acquire a facility with ideas and words, the white society frequently sews for itself a hair shirt. And as more intellectuals emerge from the segregated Negro world, the rub will become more irritating and the scratches will penetrate the surface.

Not only this, the Negro intellectual who chooses racial protest will find that his own self-conception is indirectly reinforced by the achievements of colored men in the emerging states of Africa and Asia. I doubt that many Negro intellectuals in this country have failed to experience at least vicariously a sense of power and an understandable feeling of revenge against whites in observing Soekarno, a Dutch-schooled intellectual, toss his teachers and masters out of Indonesia, or in seeing Nehru, British-trained, and symbolic of the leadership of Indian intellectuals, give Lord Mountebatten and his troops their walking papers, or finally, in watching Kwame Nkrumah, a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, being released from jail to become Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, while old-line colonial administrators rubbed their chins, stared at their tea, and wondered how far it would all go.

SHORT-RUN CHANGES

At a time when fear and confusion and withdrawal shape the moods of many of America's white intellectuals the race-conscious Negro men of ideas and words present a contrast of optimism and aggressiveness. There are, it seems to me, two reasons for this. First, the Negro intellectuals who have concerned themselves with race movements have usually visualized their task as one of introducing a series of short-run changes in the pattern of Negro white relations. While they have projected the ultimate goals of full racial manhood, they have not been diverted from their day-to-day tasks by a concern with the ultimate and drastic re-ordering of the larger society. Secondly, the issues with which they have dealt are still with us, and are underscored by the ever-widening implications of race prejudice in international relations. In contrast, the problems with which many white intellectuals were concerned in the 30's and 40's no longer exist, or have been temporarily solved, or have become so unpopular that one discusses them only at considerable risk.

We would also suggest that the intellectual race leader is better equipped to absorb temporary reversals. He is well aware that past struggles for race rights have been characterized by retreats as well as advances, by crucial losses as well as significant gains. Consequently he is not given over to easy optimism or deep despair, depending on the immediate circumstances. Furthermore, his own grievances remain similar to those of the other members of his race. The white intellectual can no longer go to the millions of unemployed in search of a complaint and a leadership role. But the Negro intellectual who functions as race spokesman will find that while Jim Crow has lost a few of his feathers, he remains a vicious bird indeed. Because the intellectual race leader is closer to the mass of his fellows he is not likely to overestimate their capacity to act or to discount their ability to respond under a given set of circumstances. Myrdal is hardly the first to confuse this hardheaded realism with cynicism.

Negro intellectuals will continue to be a source of ferment in the colored as well as in the larger white society. And for a long time to

come they will probably be a dominant element in various race organizations. However, there are signs, albeit faint, which suggest that their crucial role of the past fifty years is diminishing. There is some evidence that fewer members of this elite are willing to pay the price of race leadership, and it is admittedly a high one. Not only does the job involve hard and continuous work, but it is fraught with conflicting social pressures and psychological tensions of which even the most sympathetic outsider is usually unaware. Coupled with this is the development of wider opportunities for the intellectual Negro to use his talents in activities only incidentally connected with racial betterment. In addition there is the unresponsiveness of the mass of Negroes whose most distressing problems have been at least temporarily alleviated and who are inclined to turn a less attentive ear to exhortations of their men of intellect. Paradoxically, both sets of conditions are in part, perhaps considerable part, a consequence of the earlier activities of the colored intellectuals.

Another sign is found in the fact that racial protest and betterment is being increasingly institutionalized. This paves the way for different leadership types—for the administrator, the public relations specialist, the trained researcher and the legal expert. Within such a structure the Negro intellectual who is distinguished by his agitational and prophetic skills and by his capacity to articulate moral dichotomies, has a much less specific role. To insist that these developments are of no great consequence at the moment is not to underestimate their future significance.

"TALENTED TENTH"

Some half century ago, in his long-famous essay, DuBois declared that the Negro would be saved by the race's talented tenth, its "exceptional" men. And the reference, it was clear, was to men like himself, the highly race-conscious intellectual. It has been customary for a considerable time to discount this claim and to pose against it substantial contrary evidence. But it is a bit ironical that those who have disputed it most heatedly are themselves "exceptional" men by almost any standards that one chooses to apply. In their own disagreement they tend to verify the truth of the proposition.

Perhaps the Negro intellectuals in the future will become obsolete as leaders, but no one can review the ups and downs of racial movements since the turn of the century without realizing how indispensable they were. Certainly none can claim that a large number of them were cynical or defeatist, or that a grasp of ideas convinced them that the plight of the race was hopeless. And if the Negro in America is not certain to be saved by his intellectuals, he is sure to be damned without them.

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A QUEEN CROWNED—*The Rev. Mr. L. Francis Griffin, pastor of the First Baptist church of Farmville, Virginia, known as "the fighting parson" for his uncompromising stand on civil rights, places the crown on attractive Mrs. Margaret Carpenter and declares her "Mrs. Prince Edward County NAACP." Mrs. Carpenter led more than twenty contestants in raising funds for the branch's recent Queens' Defense Fund Contest.*

■ Story of a recreational program which successfully combats juvenile delinquency

How the Taylors Get Results

By Mandell Andrews

"WHENEVER I hear adults complaining about juvenile delinquents," says Lou Taylor of Roselle, New Jersey, "I get pretty burned up. You can tell that most of them have never taken the trouble to find out how easy it is to bring out the good in young people."

Taylor, 56, is the father of three children but his convictions stem from a much broader base of observation. He and his wife, Mildred, play host to upwards of 500 youngsters every week through their work in a community recreation program in Roselle. Many years ago they developed a program of recreational activities to keep young people occupied during their normally idle hours. The plan, continuous throughout the year, was designed to encourage natural aptitudes, promote good sportsmanship and combat juvenile delinquency, by keeping the children off the streets. Some years ago they had a chance to put the program into effect when Mildred Taylor was appointed director of a new recreation program at the Lincoln Elementary School in Roselle and Lou became her volunteer assistant.

Tuesday and Friday nights, Lou Taylor leaves his desk in the offices of the Esso Standard Oil Company, in New York's Radio City promptly at five p.m., hastens by subway and ferry to New Jersey and catches the 5:42 express by the skin of his teeth just like any other commuter. But less than an hour later he has changed from his business suit to the slacks, sweatshirt and sneakers of an athletic coach and is hurrying up the block to the Lincoln School. The two-story red-brick building, busy during the day with 350 pupils from kindergarten age through sixth grade, has been dark and deserted. But as Lou and his wife switch on the lights, a crowd of neighborhood children gathers on the doorstep. When Lou unlocks the doors they pour noisily inside and scatter to the

MANDELL ANDREWS *is the pen name of a New York business man.*

John Keller

LOU TAYLOR *is not only adept at teaching his youngsters sports, but he is also a skilled instructor in the handicrafts. We see him here instructing a mixed-racial group in leather weaving and sculpture painting.*

gymnasium, classrooms and the basement.

In a few minutes the evening program is in full swing. On the gym floor there are basketball and volley ball games, foul shooting and quoit contests. Up on the stage of the auditorium girls rehearse for the fashion and talent shows that are given at intervals throughout the season. Mildred Taylor moves calmly about, oblivious to the uproar, lending suggestions to the rehearsing groups, supplying the accompaniment for budding choristers, supervising ping pong matches and acting as mediator in any disputes which may be born from the spirit of competition.

BOXING PUPILS

Down in the basement, in a former storeroom that has been spruced up with multiple coats of whitewash, Lou Taylor, amidst a thunder of punching bags, thudding of boxing gloves and clangor of bar bells, coaches boxing, wrestling and gymnastics.

Lou gets a kick out of some of his boxing pupils. "Once in a while one of them gets smart and decides to give 'the old man' a boxing lesson. The only trouble is that he's probably a 'head hunter' like most of them are these days. He's so busy aiming shots at my face that he leaves his midsection unprotected. Then, when I reach in and tap him in the solar plexus, you should see the astonished look on his face."

Tuesday evenings during the winter, the program is reserved for "out of school" young people who are working part or full time to support themselves or their families. Friday evenings there is usually a basketball game and dance for high school teenagers; on Saturday evening there is a special program for younger children. The winter recreation schedule runs from November until April; a summer playground program from nine to five from July 1st until Labor Day. When Lou Taylor takes the month's vacation he is entitled to as a thirty-year employee of Esso Standard Oil, he devotes at least two weeks of it to the playground, coaching baseball, boxing and track. Mrs. Taylor serves as playground supervisor and teaches classes in ceramics, weaving, leathercraft and shellcraft.

While most of the neighborhood children come to participate in the games and contests, there are others who just like to stand around and talk. This is enough for the Taylors.

"Youngsters want to be part of a group," Mildred Taylor observed recently. "Even if they just come around and watch the others, they still feel that they belong."

"Probably the most important thing of all," added Lou, "is that they're here at the school instead of over on the Avenue." He was referring to busy Route 27, two blocks away, which divides Roselle and Linden. At night it blazes with the gaudy neon signs of cafes, bars and theaters.

"BAD BOYS"

"Before the 'rec program' got going," explained one of the neighborhood boys who was listening, "the kids from around here would always be over there, hanging around the street corners and candy stores and sitting in the booths of the 'sweet shops.' Every once in a while some of them would get into trouble."

"I don't think there is a single one

of our neighborhood children who is really bad," Lou Taylor broke in, "but when they were left alone night after night with no place to work off their excess energies, they would just naturally start raising some kind of cain. One boy would suggest something and the rest would fellow right along rather than be left out. But now when they get through an evening of sports and games, they're ready to go straight home to bed."

"Another fact that's been brought out," declared his wife, "is that the boys and girls actually prefer to be together here rather than in those Avenue places. At first we weren't so sure. The young people would come to our dances, but we noticed that when the evening was only about half over they'd start drifting away. Finally we realized they were going over to the Avenue for refreshments. After that we started serving soft drinks, frankfurters and ice cream at cost. Now we have to chase them out of here on dance nights."

"It used to be," Lou Taylor continued, "that when some of them raised a rumpus in one of those 'sweet shops,' the proprietor might telephone for a police car. A boy might be taken down to headquarters, word would get around that he'd been 'in trouble' and he'd have a hard time living it down.

"But if any of them get out of hand at the 'rec hall,' we have a much worse punishment—they're locked out and not allowed to come to dances and basketball games. Just the other day several boys started a scrap. I stopped it and locked them out. Half an hour later they were back, tapping on the door and calling through the glass that they wanted to apologize. The boy who started the fight was so ashamed he didn't come back that night."

When the Taylors started the program many people predicted that the children would get tired of it in a month. Now the children start ringing the telephone off the wall in October to find out about the winter season. They've got so many athletic teams, dramatic shows and talent groups to organize they can hardly wait for the season to begin. "This isn't because there's anything unique about our program," says Mildred Taylor. "Any community that starts a youth recreation center will get the same results. There's really no limit to what you can accomplish if you once awaken the interest of the children and get the kind of cooperation that we have had from the Roselle Board of Education. It will also bring a much more contented and well-behaved student body."

ENTHUSIASTIC PRAISE

Some of the most enthusiastic comment of all about the recreation center comes from the Roselle Police Department. Says Sergeant Charles Redecki of the Roselle Borough Police. "We've been the first to notice the difference since the town's recreation and playground programs really got rolling. Lots less kids seem to be in trouble. Complaints about hoodlumism and calls to break up street fights have dropped. Not only are the programs a healthy activity for the kids and a means of teaching them good sportsmanship and community spirit, but they also really do cut juvenile delinquency. We policemen know it because we've seen it happen."

John Keller

MRS. MILDRED TAYLOR, *who is a warm mother and an efficient home maker, is very active in the recreational work of her husband. Here she teaches the youngsters basket weaving, with the assistance of her husband.*

Cheerful, vigorous Lou Taylor was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, the son of a coachman from Virginia. While he and his brothers and sisters were still young, the family was broken up by the deaths of his father and mother. "Nobody wanted us as young people," he recalls, "and I've never forgotten how it felt."

He worked in Elizabeth and adjacent industrial communities as a laborer and sign painter's apprentice. When the United States entered World War I he was only fourteen, but he added three non-existent years to his age and enlisted in the Navy. Between trans-Atlantic crossings he made a Navy boxing team and showed such promise as a lightweight pugilist that his shipmates advised him to turn professional. After the war, however, Taylor went to work for Esso Standard Oil. His first job was coal passer and tube blower in the huge refinery at Linden, New Jersey. In his spare time he boxed professionally and coached basketball at the community center in Elizabeth. The star of one of his championship teams was a tall, pretty girl named Mildred Van de Vere. An all-around athlete, she also won medals in running and the broad jump. She studied music at Manhattan College but her main interest remained playground and recreational work with children.

In 1919, she and Lou did their first youth work together at the Recreation Center in Elizabeth. "Even then," she remembers, "we learned ways to handle kids that we still use today."

"INSIDE JOB"

They also fell in love and in 1924 were married. Marriage brought responsibilities that made Lou Taylor decide that he wanted an "inside job." Every day after work he cornered the head of his department and asked for a transfer. In those days it was almost unheard of for the company to shift an unskilled Negro refinery worker to the New York offices, but Lou's boss was so impressed by his capacity that he moved heaven and earth to get the transfer for him. In 1928 Lou started in the company's downtown Manhattan offices as a messenger. Since then he has been promoted through a variety of posts until today he is Clerk of Technical Publications for Esso Standard in charge of a room full of engineering journals.

Mildred Taylor, meanwhile, gave piano lessons and did staff recreation work in Elizabeth schools. As soon as her eldest child reached school age she joined the Roselle parent-teachers Association and has been extremely active in this organization ever since. Her energy, calm common sense and keen interest in community welfare and youth organizations won her the respect of her fellow residents, both white and colored. Two years ago she was elected president of the Abraham Clark High School Parent-Teachers Association, and subsequently to the Union County PTA, becoming one of the few Negro women in the country to hold such positions.

RACE RELATIONS

Soon after the war a young scoutmaster enlisted her aid in gaining use of the Lincoln School's gym for his troop meetings. Appearing before a Roselle Board of Recreation Committee, Mildred Taylor stated such a convincing case for using the

school for an evening recreation hall that she was given the post of director and authority to organize a year-round schedule of games, sports and entertainment.

With the help of her husband and staff assistants such as Raymond Johnson, who coaches basketball, and Louise Buckler, she has carried through a program which has been such a success that Roselle residents have voted to increase its budget eight times over the original amount in the last four years.

In twenty-five years the Taylors have seen slow but steady progress in race relations both at home and at work. When Lou Taylor started working in New York almost the only office positions in the city open to Negroes were those of messenger and matron. Today, his company employs Negroes as clerks, chemists, laboratory technicians, secretaries and section heads. In years past Roselle, traditionally a white community with no industries, had only a limited tolerance for minority groups. When the first colored families, including the Taylors, moved there in the twenties, the only homes and apartments available to them were at the southern end of town. Now this section and a new housing development contain both white and Negro families. For the past ten years Lou Taylor has owned his own home, an attractive, two-story white frame house on Harrison Avenue.

Re-zoning has made Lincoln School a fifty-fifty mixture of white and colored children. The evening recreation programs still attract mostly colored youngsters, but the outdoor summer playground cuts right across the color line drawing Negro and white children of every extraction from all over town.

"Contact is the key to progress between white and colored peoples," Mildred Taylor declares. "Not only among children but among adults, too. It's the only way for both groups to learn to see each other as individuals."

Seconding the observation, Lou Taylor recalls the afternoon not long ago when he broke up a fracas between a colored eight-year-old and his white counterpart. One lad had a black eye and the other a bloody nose. The news travelled fast and within an hour the irate parents rushed down to the playground and were squaring off with heating words. Stepping in between them, Lou Taylor pointed to the boys. They were again playing happily together as if nothing had happened. "Those kids of yours," Taylor told the two fathers, "ought to teach you both a lesson."

TAYLOR'S FAMILY

Lou is the first to admit that he's learned a lot from his own family. He'd always thought of himself as fairly energetic until he saw first his wife and now his two daughters in action.

Mildred Taylor in addition to being a warm mother and efficient home maker, has found time to become one of the most active colored women in New Jersey. Besides her playground and recreational work and leadership of the PTA, she is a vice-president of the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women; acting advisor to the Roselle Community Council (an affiliate of the Urban League of Eastern Union

(*Continued on page* 386)

THE REV. MR. H. H. COLLINS, *pastor of St. Paul's CME Mission in Bakersfield, California, made history in April, 1953, when he was elected to the Bakersfield city council. He is the first Negro to be elected to a city council in California.*

Bakersfield Makes History

OF interest to Negro Citizens everywhere, and particularly to those living in California, was the recent election of a councilman for the first ward in the City of Bakersfield.

Three candidates, one a Negro, were in the race in the primary election. One of the three candidates was eliminated in the first race, necessitating a run off between the Rev. Mr. H. H. Collin's, pastor of St. Paul's CME Mission, and a Mr. Shurley, a Southern Pacific employee, councilman for the past four years.

In the run off election of April 14, 1953, the Rev. Mr. Collins won by a wide margin of votes. This election was especially gratifying because it is the first time a Negro has been elevated to the position of councilman in any city in California; and secondly because his election was due largely to the efforts of an awakened electorate in the Negro group, which makes up a large segment of the constituency in the first ward.

A notable feature of the closing hours of the campaign was the "Caravan Parade" led by candidate Collins and Mrs. Collins, and C. R. Smith, campaign manager, followed by a fleet of cars bearing "Win With Collins" banners and filled with enthusiastic boosters. The parade traversed the principal streets of the first ward.

The Rev. Mr. Collins came to Bakersfield about four years ago from the pastorate of St. Philip's CME church, San Diego. From the beginning he made himself known and felt by taking an active interest in the P. T. A. groups and civic programs. He has active membership in the Greater Bakerfield Ministerial Association, the Family Service Agencies, is a member of the executive board of the YMCA, and for the past four years has served as president of the Bakersfield branch of the NAACP. Through his efforts the branch has been fully reactivated.

MARY L. COLLINS

■ A Spanish historian weighs the problems of obsolescent colonialism

As Africa Comes Of Age*

By Salvador de Madariaga

I WAS walking along one of the old streets of Oxford, in that old-world atmosphere which oozes from the stones of its venerable colleges. Two men were walking behind me. Their voices were a joy to hear. Centuries of refiinement and culture—thought I, as I heard the music without listening to the conversation — had gone into the mellowing of those two voices, the modulation of their undertones, the intellectual courtesy, aptness and grace of expression. "That," I mused, looking at the old stone of the college façade, "that explains this'"—and I listened again.

I began to imagine them and to try to build them up from their voices, as Cuvier had built up the fossil animal out of a leg-bone. The one with the thicker voice was sure to be tall, lanky, flaxen-haired and blue-eyed; the other, with a higher-pitched voice, was almost certainly stocky, short-necked and high chested, and probably had that rich auburn hair one often meets with in Scotland. I was still painting their portraits on the canvas of my mind when they passed me. They were Negroes.

Great Britain has been swift in correcting her past indifference to the education of the blacks. Colored men from the West Indies and in African colonies are now a familiar sight in all her universities. The president of the Oxford Union, a while ago, was a West Indian Negro. The number of Africans who are graduated every year from British universities is high and is increasing. This trend is one of the major factors in the evolution of Africa.

The second half of the twentieth

* Reprinted by permission from the June 8, 1953, issue of *The New Leader*, New York City.

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, *who has been at various times an official of the League of Nations, Spanish ambassador to the United States, and professor of Spanish studies at Oxford, is one of Spain's best known writers in the fields of history, biography, international relations, and literary criticism.*

century may well go down in history as the epoch of the Negro's coming of age; that is to say, the period when the Negroes, till then mere objects of history, begin to count as subjects of history as well. No one should entertain the slightest doubt as to their capacity. If there is one thing about which chroniclers of African and American affairs are agreed, it is the admirable qualities of the Negro. Intelligent, quick to learn, active, cheerful, charitable and helpful toward each other and toward strangers, the Negroes are sure to make their mark in history as soon as they emerge from the magic-animist stage into a more rational (not necessarily rationalist) form of life.

AFRICA — *the world must reckon* with her.

THORNY PROBLEMS

This process has begun. But will it be allowed to develop in the freedom of nature, as an evolution ruled by its own inner laws? It looks as if events and circumstances outside their own inherent life will go on making of the Negroes a family of men used by other human families for their own purposes. Our own white branch of mankind has been more at fault here than any other.

The horrors of slavery, from the traffic in slaves to their use as mere agricultural animals or instruments, are now fortunately a thing of the past. In a number of cases, immense strides have been made to improve the lot of the Negroes ruled by the whites, and even to hand back to them the government of their own affairs. But, in the evolution that Africa is undergoing, many a thorny problem is raised, not merely by forces external and even indifferent to the welfare of the Negroes themselves, but also by those very forces which are endeavoring to help them toward self-government and freedom.

The more obvious of these problems, and that which attracts most of the attention, is the danger of Communist conversion. Sensational cases, such as that of the American Negro singer Paul Robeson, lend color and plausibility to this fear. But the possibility of a Communist Africa would appear to be subordinate to at least two other sets of facts: One is the course of the general struggle between Moscow and the free world; the other is the greater or lesser success of the white powers in handling the situation in Africa on its own merits and quite apart from the Communist danger. If Western ideas prevail in Europe, and if, in particular, the Eastern Europeans are freed from their enthralment to Moscow, the danger of

Communism in Africa will diminish enormously. If the process of organizing self-government and freedom in Africa is thwarted by ill will, incompetence or both, the menace of Communism will become very great.

We are thus thrown back on the evolution toward self-government itself, which is encountering a number of considerable obstacles. One of them is the feeling, which is bound to increase, that the whites take too much land and wealth for their services to the Africans. A fair revision of the land problem so as to return as much land as possible to the natives, and a general policy that will enhance the prestige of the whites as organizers and civilizers, rather than as businessmen, would appear to be indispensable.

LACK OF MEN

But here another obstacle will emerge: lack of men. Despite the effort being made by all the European nations with African responsibilities, it is doubtful whether Africa has had the time to develop enough competent men to take charge of public affairs. Whether in the field of politics, economics, culture or health, the Africans will have to show patience and the Europeans to prove by their deeds that they are sincere in their intention to hand over power to the Africans *pari passu* with the latter's growth.

There are signs that some European nations might err in Africa through an excess of good intentions. Doubts may be expressed, for instance, over the wisdom of organizing Negro states along Western parliamentary lines, a process already under way in several British Crown colonies. A system of government cannot be transferred from one part of the British Empire to another without serious risks of failure. An African Negro wearing a wig like the Speaker of the House of Commons symbolizes the well-meaning but artificial, indeed slightly ridiculous, aspect of this scheme.

A true democratic approach to the problem would have been the development of existing Negro institutions from the village to the nation, with the forms filled in and shaped by the Africans themselves. This is no new idea in the British Empire, where the colonial service understands the importance of being guided by good anthropologists; but it may be that shallow political considerations stand in the way of the more reasonable solutions. Then there is also the urgency of sudden situations which must be met.

Such is the background to the problems that beset the nations engaged in Africa, particularly Great Britain. The situation in Kenya, the problem of federation in Rhodesia, the tension in the Union of South Africa—these are three aspects of one and the same historical trend. The Negro is coming of age. How is he to be received by his "elders" in the house? Before they answer, the "elders" must bear in mind that the newcomer is vigorous and capable of attaining a great future.

THESE ARE *some of the people who do the grass-roots work of the NAACP. Pictured here are the twenty-two members of the executive board of the Amityville, New York, branch with executive secretary, Walter White (standing, fifth from right).* BOTTOM: *The Serdonyx Club of Detroit, Michigan, which helped the Detroit branch by reporting 54 memberships and sponsoring a party for benefit of the branch.*

JIM CROW COCA COLA MACHINE

SEEING is believing. This jim-crow Coca Cola vending machine is used in some southern communities. Although coins are inserted in different slots tagged "Colored" and "White," respectively, the bottle of Cocoa Cola apparently is received at the same "Open Door." There also seems to be no separate "Coin Return" and "Bottle Opener." Here is a good illustration of the real purpose of southern segregation—to humiliate and stigmatize Negroes! This machine does not keep the races apart, but it does serve to remind Negroes of their subordinate position in southern life. A similar distinction is often made with public drinking fountains in some southern communities where the same fountain will have two outlets marked "White" and "Colored."

DR. HENRY ALLEN BOYD *(left) of Nashville, Tennessee, presents a* $500 *check for NAACP life membership to Mrs. Lettie Galloway, director of the* 1953 *membership campaign for the Nashville area. M. W. Day, president of the Nashville branch, looks on approvingly.* BOTTOM: *Mrs. Josephine Brown (second from left), chairman of the NAACP committee at Vine Memorial Baptist church, makes initial payment on a life membership in the NAACP which the church has given its pastor, the Rev. Mr. Leonard Carr. Others witnessing the presentation to Dr. Harry Greene, president of the Philadelphia branch, are (left to right) Jacob Thompson, the Rev. Mr. Carr, and Mrs. Bette Smith-Marshall.*

■ Sketches of two Argentine personalities who became legends in their own time

Argentine Diptych – Melitón and Schimu

By Irene Diggs

NO, perhaps, in the beginning Africans and their descendants in Argentina and Uruguay were not gauchos. How could one be a slave-gaucho in the midst of the pampa with its hundred and one invitations to be free? Could a real gaucho carry the same branding as his beast of burden? As late as 1825 in the inventory of thirty-three slaves living on the *estancias* of Juan Manual de Rosas were four branded black *bozales*: Antonio Rosas branded with a ring in the middle of the forehead; another with a Y on his left arm; Manuel Rosas with long crossed lines on both arms and his chest and Antuco Rosas with seven lines on his right cheek and eight lines, up and down, on the left. From early colonial times in the Rio de la Plata the African was engaged in various tasks connected with rural life. Some seemed especially gifted in the raising of cattle, lassoing, killing and dressing, breaking-in, branding, singing and guitar playing.

Slaves in rebellion ran away from colonial centers of population to participate in the nomadic life of the gaucho of the pampa. In time Africans became gauchos. Their descendents were black gauchos with all the cultural characteristics of gauchos: they were friends of the dawn and the solitary trees, lovers of the violent southwest wind; they were "controlled" by the moon which brought rain; above all they were connoisseurs of *maté*. They possessed that sensitivity which makes it possible for the gaucho to communicate and commune with nature—nothing was inert and mute.

As all gauchos they had fear of the darkness, the lights and shadows, souls in pain—a oneness with nature and mystery which provided them with poetry and song with which to enliven the fireside and the general store. It is not purely coincidental that along side of the white tall-tale-

DR. IRENE DIGGS, a frequent CRISIS *contributor, teaches anthropology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.*

tellers, the troubadours and guitar players in the legend and literature of the Rio de la Plata one finds the black counterpart. With Martin Fierro, the Moreno boasts of his gaucho freedom:

> But I live free
> I do not depend on anyone
> Like a bird without a net.
> Always I fly through the air

BLACK GAUCHO

There was Melitón, a slave-gaucho, born and reared in El Ombú, who dominated all the other gauchos, was well dressed and gadded about in the best duds of his owner and had horses of his own. Melitón was a favorite of Don Santos, he was loved by all, even those who had to execute his orders, for his goodness of heart and his temperament; he was always gay and loving. No matter what anyone did, Melitón could do it better. There was no one like Melitón.

Melitón was faithful. Melitón was a lover of freedom. Melitón longed to be free. There was a law that the slave who presented the price of his liberty to his possessor should be freed. One day Melitón approached Don Santos: "Look, *Patron*, here is the price of my freedom, take it, count it, see that it is correct." Don Santos did not understand the subtle distinction when Melitón pleaded: "But let me stay in the El Ombú and serve you henceforth without pay because from now on I shall not be a slave." Instead Don Santos Ugarte was indignant. Was not Don Santos a patriarchal master proud of his kindliness and generosity? Did he not tell his slaves: "You are my children, you serve me because you love me and not because you are slaves and if this minute I should offer any one of you your freedom, you would not accept?" The desire of Melitón to be free seemed abusive ingratitude to him. "So this is why you were saving the money I gave you to spend and enjoy yourself. So this is why you were saving the money you received from the sale of the animals I gave you. You saved for your freedom? Ingrate! You have a heart blacker than your skin. Take your money, get out and never cross my path again Melitón if you wish to live many years "

Gaucho Melitón departed on his horse "sobbing like a child" and bleeding from the injury of his own gold and silver hurled at his head. At Sur de Dolores (South of Sorrow) he was free. He bought and sold cattle for two years but always was tormented by the thought of having been "unfaithful" to his *Patron* who had treated him as a father treats his son. Above all he desired to be pardoned. He could suffer no longer, now perhaps Don Santos was not angry. He returned to El Ombú. Don Santos came out of the house smiling. . . .

"You have returned even though I warned you not to. . . ." Stretching forth his hand, Melitón, thinking he had been pardoned, extended his. Don Santos grasped it so tightly Melitón yelled with pain and blinded by his tears did not see that Don Santos had a large blunderbuss in his left hand. Gaucho Melitón was buried in "el composanto'e Chascomús."

Don Santos fled to Buenos Aires and later was in Montevideo. It was his daily custom to spend hours beside the sea. One day as the tide came in, Don Santos, with his face

toward Buenos Aires, did not move. The water began to cover him but not his sorrow which was as fresh as the day he had killed poor Melitón whom he loved as one loves his son.

SCHIMU NEGRO

One of the picturesque figures in the history of Argentine governors is that of Captain Simón Luna, popularly known as Schimu Negro. During the 1830's, revolution violently snatched governors from their seats in Santiago del Estero. A small skirmish or the simple show of troops might result in a new administration. A circumstantial encounter between two enemy parties might be sufficient to jeopardize a governor's position.

The party to which Simón Luna belonged defeated that of the party in power in Los Flores. Governor Gama, subsittute for Colonel Dehesa, abandoned Santiago. Schimu Negro was provisionary governor from the fifteenth to the seventeenth of April 1831. But before his successor took office Schimu Negro had sold his office and retired from the Government House. According to the story as related in *Historia de los Gobernadores*, by Antonio Zinny, a resident, Don Santiago de Palacio, in whose service Schimu Negro had been, attempted to rescue the office of governor in order that it might "not be degraded in the hands of a person of such low estate, not because of his color, but because of his background and 'loose' living." He decryed Schimu Negro's intrusion. He advised him to return to his usual work as cattle driver and goader in bullfights. To encourage him, he offered Schimu Negro five thousand pesos.

The figure meant nothing to Schimu. Calculating the importance of abandoning his post he answered, "You are wrong, *Patron*, if you believe that for this sum I should be willing to give up my office. I warn you that if you do not give me fifty pesos there will be a revolution. . . ." Santiago de Palacio feigned surprise at the reasoning of the provisionary governor, took out his roll and counted out fifty pesos. "Here is what you demand."

Thus an Argentine governorship was sold for fifty pesos, all of which is said to have been spent for drinks for himself and his friends in the nearby general store (*pulperia*).

CERTIFICATE OF AWARD *is presented to Roy Wilkins (center), NAACP administrator, by John T. Hall (right), as Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, looks on. The award was presented by Mr. Hall on behalf of the Los Angeles Postal Employees Committee in recognition of Mr. Wilkins' "humanitarian contributions to mankind."* BOTTOM: *Mrs. Rosa C. Brown, who has been an active NAACP worker for more than 30 years, is presented an NAACP life membership by the Boston, Massachusetts, branch. Lionel O. Lindsay, branch president, is making the presentation.*

Editorials

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

IN June the United States Supreme Court handed down two very encouraging decisions which will help the Negro in his fight against segregation and bigotry. While these pronouncements do not declare that segregation as such is unconstitutional, they do whittle away at the theory and practice in two specified areas. The first ruling says that it is illegal not to serve Negroes in public eating places in Washington. What the court did, by a vote of 8 to 0, was to declare that the statute of 1873 which made it a criminal act for any cafe or restaurant to refuse service to a person solely because of his race or color is still in effect.

Washington practice has been for downtown restaurants to refuse Negroes service, although certain lunch counters in drug stores, delicatessens, and "dime" stores would serve Negroes in a standing position. From now on black and white Washingtonians can down their Martinis, wolf their hot dogs, and munch their hamburgers together in racial harmony. No incidents have been reported as result of the decision and it is unlikely that Congress will pass a law upsetting the court's decision. It is too great a political risk.

The second decision bars suits for damages when signers of racial restrictive covenants violate their contracts by selling their residential property to non-whites.

The case arose when Leola Jackson of Los Angeles, California, who had entered into a restrictive covenant on residential property in her neighborhood later sold to Negroes. Three neighbors sued her for damages on the ground that permitting Negroes to occupy the property lowered neighborhood real estate values.

The constitutional question was whether a suit for damages in a state court would constitute state action under the Fourteenth Amendment to enforce such a covenant. Since the Supreme Court had already held in 1948 that voluntary racial restrictive covenants were legal, though not enforceable in court, this latest decision is really an extension of the 1948 ruling.

This decision apparently puts an end to the last legal prop for the covenant. Heretofore aggrieved parties have relied on damage suits to keep the weak-kneed in line, but now that the Supreme Court disallows such suits the racial restrictive covenantors will have to think up a new "gimmick," and anything they think up can be nothing more than a farcical expedient. For the day is not far off when the Negro is going to live freely wherever his money will permit him to buy or rent.

SCHOOL CASES

JUST what the Supreme Court has in mind in its order for re-argument of the five public school cases in October is privy only to the justices. However, many lawyers are of the opinion that the court is ready to rule against segregation but wants to be assured that "de-segregation" will take

place in such an affably accommodating manner as not to stir up the southern Yahoos and Dixiecrats.

The Crisis does not expect any racial outbreaks if the court outlaws the segregated public school. Governors Herman Talmadge and James F. Byrnes with their appeal to the mob do not speak for the South. Similar predictions were made when Heman Sweatt was admitted to the law school of the University of Texas. Similar threats were made when Negroes were first admitted to southern graduate and professional schools. It was even predicted that teacher-salary equalization would strain race relations. Experience has shown that such protesting prophecies are foolish, insincere, and absurd. For the American people have such high respect for the United States Supreme Court that they are willing to accept its interpretation of the Constitution. *The Crisis* hopes that the court will squarely face the issue and declare the segregated public school unconstitutional.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, SR.

DR. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., died in New York City on June 12, 1953, at the age of 88. He was pastor emeritus of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, which he had served as pastor from 1908 to 1937. Dr. Powell made of the Abyssinian Church one of the most useful and effective religious-social institutions in New York City. Both the church and the community had in Dr. Powell a leader of vigorous intellect and personality. He was a man whose life and thought were manifestly Christian in essence, attitude, and performance. *The Crisis* mourns the loss of this distinguished churchman and leader.

BOOK BURNING

THE ostensible reason given by the State Department for the removal of books from United States Overseas Libraries is political. The government cannot afford to place its imprimatur (with use of the taxpayer's money) on books authored by Communists, fellow travellers, or writers who invoke the Fifth Amendment when questioned about their Communist ties. When the various U. S. Information Services began carrying out the order, they fell into the same sort of muddling that has characterized book burners and censors ever since the printing of books.

Whittaker Chambers' *Witness* is removed from the Abraham Lincoln library in Buenos Aires; Benjamin Stern's strictly technical *American Medical Practice* is given the heave ho in Madrid; likewise Langston Hughes' story of small-town life, *Not Without Laughter*, and Walter White's study of jim crow in the American Army, *A Rising Wind*, have been placed on the verboten list. All this is ridiculous It is contrary to the American tradition of the free circulation of ideas, even heretical ideas, and smacks of dictatorship. Banning books has never worked. In France in 1610 it was a capital crime just to mention books used by the Jesuits, but the net result was to advertise and increase the sale of these very books. Let us Americans leave book burning and book banning to the tyrants and the totalitarians.

PLANNING *the annual membership drive of the Duluth, Minnesota, branch are (from left) the Rev. Mr. C. S. Jones, vice-president; George Dozier, president; Mrs. Dozier, treasurer; and R. J. Simmons, secretary.* BOTTOM: *Dr. J. W. Burroughs, (right), pastor of the Grant Memorial AME church, Jacksonville, Florida, accepts chairmanship of membership campaign of the local branch and poses with (from left) Charles Vaught, branch president; and Gertrude Gorman and Robert Saunders, NAACP assistant field secretaries.*

Looking and Listening . . .

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

THE CRISIS has just received a copy of *Minority Group Integration by Labor and Management*, a study of the employment practices of the larger employers, and the membership practices of the larger labor unions with respect to race, religion and national origin, Connecticut, 1951, prepared by Henry G. Stetler, supervisor of the Division of Research, for the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights.

We quote the following paragraphs from the "Conclusions":

Data gathered through the medium of interviews with employers, unions, and wage-earners, in the principal industrial areas of Connecticut have revealed a wide variety of practices with respect to the employment of minority group persons—particularly the employment of Negroes for whom the most detailed data were available. . . .

There is a wide variation in the employment of Negroes by the larger companies. Apart from a tenth of the companies which employ no Negroes, the other 90 percent range from those which provide employment only on the unskilled level, to those which integrate Negroes on all levels including white collar jobs. In the absence of specific complaints with follow-up investigation and proof, it is impossible to categorize any of these employers as engaging in discrimination on the basis of races and color. We make this statement because it is possible for the employer to defend the non-employment of Negroes, either in toto or with respect to the various occupational levels, on grounds of 'no applications' or 'insufficient skills or training.' And even though there may have been applications, and Negroes with skills had applied, other, more intangible factors such as prejudice on the part of management, supervisors, or employees may have prevented hiring or promotion. Whether any of these are operative requires proof in specific situations.

There are, howeve. certain situations revealed by our analysis which cannot be explained away as readily. One of these is the low rate of employment of Negro clerical workers in the larger manufacturing industries. In the Bridgeport area *no* Negro women were employed at clerical jobs, and in other areas their employment at such jobs was decidedly limited outside of the non-manufacturing employers in the Hartfort area. It would seem that in this occupational group there is either deliberate or unconscious discrimination against the employment of Negro women.

Also, in supervisory and professional jobs, the few positions of this type afforded to Negroes would seem to indicate underemployment despite the limited potentialities inherent in the Negro group for these types of jobs as indicated by the educational achievements of the Negro group on the whole. The considerably higher percentage of Negro supervisory and professional workers employed by the State of Connecticut seems to indicate that more trained Negroes are available than are

given opportunities by the larger private employers. . . .

With respect to labor unions, all the evidence indicates that Negroes can secure membership in the unskilled unions (A. F. of L.) and the industrial type unions (C.I.O. and A. F. of L.). Their membership is very limited in the A. F. of L. craft unions. . . . When so few Negroes are admitted as apprentices or journeymen to an entire category of unions (such as the A. F. of L. craft unions) the problem would seem to merit continuing examination in order to determine whether *qualifications* or *racial prejudice* is the determining factor in admitting members. . . .

YOUNGSTOWN FEPC

THE City Council of Youngstown, Ohio, passed a Fair Employment Practice Ordinance in June, 1950, making it unlawful for employers, labor unions, or employment agencies in Youngstown to discriminate against anyone in hiring, promoting, admitting to membership or referring for employment because of his race, religion, or nationality. In October, 1950, the ordinance was amended to create a Fair Employment Practice Committee to administer, enforce, and educate about the law and its principle of equal opportunity for employment on merit.

The annual report of the Committee (April 1, 1952—April 1, 1953) offers interesting information:

During the period April 8, 1952 to March 31, 1953, the FEPC received 25 signed and notarized complaints by aggrieved persons of violation of the Fair Employment Practice Ordinance. The Committee initiated 3 complaints and succeeded in getting all three violations to cease. Nineteen of these 28 complaints have been investigated and acted upon by the Committee. Eight of these were dismissed for lack of probable cause that the FEP Ordinance was violated as charged; 3 were dismissed for lack of jurisdiction under the FEP Ordinance. In 8 of them violation of the letter and spirit of the FEP law was found. Through the process of conference and conciliation all of these violations ceased. The remaining 9 are still in the process of being investigated and adjusted. Those complained against included employers, labor unions and employment agencies. The basis of the complaints included race, religion and nationality. Among the consequences of these investigations were the following:

A bus company hired its first Negro drivers in its 34 years of operation in Youngstown and among its work-force of 245 drivers. As of March 31, 1953, there were 29 Negroes who had completed their driver's training and 7 more in training. These drivers have been accepted by the local bus driver's union as full-fledged members.

One of the 3 largest steel companies in Youngstown filled a clerical position with a Negro, probably the first Negro in that capacity in that company's history.

An employer began his first Negro in sales-clerk work. An employment agency ceased classifying and referring registrants on the basis of race. Three licensed employment agencies that had unlawful inquiries on their registration blanks crossed these out from all their present stock of blanks and all their active file of filled-out blanks.

A credit bureau ceased giving employers information as to the 'racial extraction' of applicants, numbering about 1000 a year.

An employer of many employees corrected an employment practice that permitted discrimination in the issuing of application-for-employment blanks. An employer crossed out 'nationality' from all his unused supply of application-for-employment blanks.

The FEPC demonstrated that it not only can but will subpoena records pertinent to an investigation when necessary. . . .

OPPORTUNITY FELLOWSHIPS

TWENTY-THREE Negroes are included among the fifty-two Opportunity Fellowship recipients of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, New York City, for 1953-54. The fellowship winners will receive grants for training and study totaling $100,000. These awards are made to American citizens of exceptional promise who, because of arbitrary barriers such as race, cultural background or region or residence, have not had the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent their abilities to make their richest contribution to society.

Among this year's fellows are Negroes, Spanish-Americans, American Indians, Japanese-Americans, Displaced Persons, Puerto Ricans, and residents of United States territories. The grants, ranging from $1,000 to $3,000, will aid this year's winners to study in 26 different fields, including medicine, law, art, music, anthropology, literature, and the sciences.

The Negro fellows are Betty Allen, Campbell, Ohio; Thomas Blair, New York City; Mrs. Letitia Brown, Tuskegee, Alabama; Paul Brown, Knoxville, Tenn.; Edgar Clark, Atlanta, Ga.; Dorothy Ellison, Atlanta, Ga.; Albert Garner, Washington, D. C.; Israel Glover, Oxford, N. C.; Ulric Haynes, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Neal Hemachandra, St. Albans, N. Y.; James Jones, Little Rock, Ark.; Alvin Labat, Washington, D. C.; Antonia Pantoja, San Juan, Puerto Rico; Mary Robbs, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Ramon Rosario, New York City; Dr. Claudius Shropshire, Travis Air Force Base Hospital; Elliott Skinner, British West Indies; Edgar Toppin, New York City; John DeJongh, Virgin Islands; James Emanuel, Alliance, Nebraska; George Jones, Orangeburg, N. Y.; Gus Ridgel, Poplar Bluff, Mo.; and Joseph Stewart, New York City.

NEGRO BASE BALL PLAYERS

A. C. REDD of the South Carolina Conference of NAACP branches sends us two interesting clippings on the use of Negro baseball players in the South Atlantic League, known locally as "Sally." We excerpt a few paragraphs from Del Booth's column, which appeared under the headline "Major Reaction to Negroes in Sally is Financial Here."

The major reaction to the initial South Atlantic league appearance of Negro baseball players here [Columbia, S. C., in April] last night was financial.

One thousand Negroes paid 65 cents or $1 each, depending upon whether they sat in the Negro stands of a section of the grandstand set aside for them. They watched three Negroes play against Columbia for Jacksonville. Usually about 100 Negroes turn out for the Sally games here. . . . In fact, the financial and other reactions were so satisfactory, the Columbia team is thinking of adding a Negro infielder to its roster sometime this season. . . . There was a lot of 'go on back to the cotton fields' remarks and booing from the stands but little of it seemed to have any overtones of viciousness.

The crowd seemed to have accepted the advent of Negro players in the solid

segregated South. Maybe reluctantly, but accepted.

None of Columbia's three pitchers in a 7-5 loss tried anything close to a bean ball at the three Negroes. And the Negroes won the game for Jacksonville—Second baseman Henry Aaron and shortstop Felix Mantilla, a Cuban Negro, with their fine fielding, plus the hitting of outfielder Horace Garner. Aaron and Garner each homered, the second baseman batting in three runs on the home run and two other hits, Garner getting two on his homer.

The white crowd seemed to resent slightly one phase of the big Negro turnout—the Negro contigent was all for the visiting team, and had no cheers for the home club. That didn't sit too well—hometown fans like to recognize good play on the part of visitors, but they like to see their home team get strong support too.

Reactions from the players on Columbia's all-white team was restrained. There was some bench-jockeying of the Negroes, such as yells of 'alligator bait,' and so on, but it was milder in tone than that accorded Jacksonville's white players. . . .

Van Newman in his column said that individual reactions to the appearance in the "Sally" league was varied. Generally, the younger fans were tolerant; the older ones were often dubious about the use of Negroes; but Mr. Newman says that "tolerance was expressed by considarably more than intolerance." "One thing is certain," he adds, "the Negro ball player is here in this league now —and he apparently is here to stay."

CURRENT MAGAZINES

THE following articles in current magazine are of interest to Crisis readers:

"What is Color?" Walter White. *Brief*, August, 1953.

If you can't see the difference between "colored" and "white"—how do you tell?

"The United States Negro, 1953." *Time*, May 11, 1953.

Charts the revolution that has occured in the life of the Negro during the last decade.

"Africa: A continent in ferment." *Life*, May 4, 1953.

A special issue charting the emergence of Africa on the world scene.

"America and the Challenge of Africa." *Saturday Review*, May 2, 1953.

Special African number with articles by Harold Isaacs, Alan Paton, Z. K. Matthews, and others. Indubitably the best of the many African numbers issued recently by several magazines.

"Notebook on Black Africa." Eric Larrabee. *Harper's*, May, 1953.

Informal notes dealing with the Cameroons, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, and Senegal by the associate editor of *Harper's*. Very informative.

"The Afterglow of Empire: Notebook on Black Africa, Part II." Eric Larrabee. *Harper's*, June, 1953.

Discuesses the trend toward self-determination in West Africa and the ferment of nationalism in other parts of the continent.

The August and September numbers of THE CRISIS are combined in one issue, August-September, out September 1.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

COURTS

School Cases: On June 8 the United States Supreme Court failed to hand down a decision in the Association cases involving constitutionality of racial discrimination in public schools, but instead set them for re-argument on October 12, 1953. The board of directors at its June 8 meeting adopted the following resolution concerning the Supreme court action:

We regret the inability of the Supreme Court to reach a favorable decision at this time on the school segregation cases which have been pending since last December. Answers relating to the vital issues raised in these cases will be supplied to the specific questions posed by the Supreme Court on the re-argument of the cases scheduled for October 12.

It is our conviction that questions of this type should be resolved in the legal forum of the Supreme Court rather than through hysterical mob appeal by politicians such as Governors Herman Talmadge and James Byrnes. We urge the people of this country, both white and Negro, North and South, to follow the example of the Supreme Court and to consider the question of the validity of racial segregation on the basis of the facts, the law and their moral responsibility rather than upon the irrational rantings and ravings of biased, diehard 'white supremacist' demagogues.

The NAACP's historic fight against segregation must and will be fully vindicated. We are convinced that racial segregation is not only illegal; it is also immoral. The NAACP is further convinced that the American people are ready for the total abolition of this archaic system of racial segregation. Moreover, the NAACP, its branches and its entire membership will never cease their efforts toward this end no matter what the cost.

In a letter to branches, the national officers point out that the Association's attack upon segregation in the public schools is a culmination of our 44-year effort to completely remove segregation and discrimination from every phase of American life. Many successes have been achieved along the way, but the fight has not yet been won. The temporary delay in the jim-crow public school cases simply means that we must press even harder toward our goal of complete victory.

"Jaybird Primary": The right of Negroes to vote in the South has been guaranteed by the U. S. Supreme Court in its decision outlawing the "Jaybird primary" in Texas. The decision, handed down on May 4, also rules out all other schemes southern election officials might devise to prevent Negroes from voting. It should end all such devices as the "white" primaries and other clauses used to segregate or discriminate against colored voters,

MEMBERS *of the Des Moines, Iowa, branch who attended the* 1953 *membership campaign kick-off dinner on May* 14. *The branch expects to exceed its goal of a thousand members before the close of its campaign.* BOTTOM: *The Kalamazoo, Michigan, branch president, Frederick Lilly (left), presents award to representatives of Hopman Dutton Company for fair employment practices.*

since the Court has made it clear that any and all methods used to keep qualified Negro voters from the polls is illegal and in violation of the 15th Amendment.

By an 8-1 vote, the Court ruled that the Jaybird Democratic Association, better known as the "jaybird party" in Ford Bend county, Texas, was a political party whose express purpose was to prevent Negroes from voting in the primaries, "the only election in the county that counted." Since 1889 every candidate for office in Fort Bend county has been endorsed by the Jaybird party.

The case was instituted early in 1952 by John Terry, Jessie Byers, R. E. Pink, Jr., Charlie Roberts and Price Jackson on behalf of all the Negroes in Fort Bend county. In May, 1952, the District Court ruled that Negroes had the right to vote in the primaries. The Jaybirds took the case to the Court of Appeals which reversed the lower court's decision. An appeal from this ruling was taken to the Supreme Court in behalf of the Texas Negro voters by NAACP attorneys.

In an opinion read by Justice Hugo L. Black it was stated that the qualifications prescribed by Texas permitting voters to vote at county-operated primaries are the same as those "entitling electors to vote at the county-wide Jaybird primaries with a single proviso—Negroes are excluded."

The Jaybirds had denied that their racial exclusions violated the 15th Amendment. They contended that the Amendment applies only to elections or primaries held under state regulation and that their association was not regulated by the state. While it was a political party, it was a self-governing voluntary club.

The president of the Jaybirds, A. J. Adams, admitted to the court under questioning that the party was designed to keep Negroes from voting in the county primaries. All white voters in the county, upon paying the poll tax, automatically become members of the Jaybirds.

New Trial: The 99-year prison term imposed upon 19-year-old John Taft Roseburough of Brownwood, Texas, convicted for the alleged rape of a white woman, was reversed in May by the Court of Criminal Appeals at Austin.

The decision was reversed on the grounds that the trial court, the District Court of Brown county, erred in refusing to let Roseburough testify concerning a 7-hour inquisition he was subjected to by a bondsman who encouraged the boy to sign a "house-peeping" confession with the promise of getting him out of trouble.

Roseburough was first arrested in San Angelo, Texas, December 19, 1951, on suspicion of "house-peeping." He was held in jail four days before any official charge was made against him. He was then charged with raping Mrs. Dorothy Bartlett who testified that she had been attacked two months before in her home by a Negro she could neither identify nor describe.

During the trial not one shred of evidence was produced to connect the youth with the alleged crime, yet an all-white jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to 99 years.

NAACP attorneys appealed the conviction on two counts, the refusal of the trial court to allow Roseburough to testify as to the conversation and the promise of the bondsman, and the error in admitting the alleged confession. They charged he was beaten, threatened and forced, while in custody of officers of the law, into signing a confession without the advice of a lawyer.

In reversing the trial court's decision, the Court of Criminal Appeals did not rule on the admissibility of the confession.

NAACP lawyers are trying to get the youth released on bail while waiting for a new trial. They have been advised that one of the witnesses vital to his defense is now in Germany and it may take another year before he can or will return to this country.

CONVENTION

Stassen Speaker: Harold E. Stassen, Mutual Security Administrator and former Governor of Minnesota, addressed the closing session of the 44th annual convention of the Association in St. Louis, June 23-28.

Mr. Stassen replaced Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam who was unable to attend because of participation in the 250th anniversary of John Wesley, founder of Methodism, in Philadelphia on the same day of the NAACP meeting. "My regret is matched by my disappointment," the Methodist prelate wired upon discovering the conflict in the date.

Sharing the platform with Mr. Stassen at the Sunday afternoon session on June 28, was Walter White, NAACP executive secretary. Music at this session was by the Mariners, popular and internationally famous quartet at the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The keynote address was delivered at the opening night session on Tuesday, June 23, by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Association's board of directors. Welcome addresses were delivered by Mayor Reymond Tucker and Howard B. Woods, city editor, St. Louis *Argus*.

Others addressing the public evening meetings of the convention included Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL; Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel; Archibald Carey, Jr., member, City Council of Chicago; Senator W. Stuart Symington; and Paul R. Williams, winner of the 38th Spingarn Medal.

Day session of the convention were devoted to internal organizational business and to workshops on civil rights, the legal program, health, church cooperation, labor relations, the legislative program, employment, housing, and public relations.

MISCELLANEOUS

Baltimore: The Maryland State Commission of Forests and Parks has been ordered by the United States District Court for the District of Maryland to cease its discriminatory practices against Negroes at the Sandy Point Beach and Park, a state recreation area on the outskirts of Baltimore.

The decision was rendered by Federal Judge W. Calvin Chestnut in a suit brought against the Maryland State Commission by the Baltimore branch of the NAACP in behalf of eight Negroes who had been refused admission to well-equipped South Beach. They had been turned away from the well-kept beach and directed to nearby East Beach, a virtually unusable area reserved exclusively for the use of Negroes.

The suit was filed with the District Court in July, 1952, by Milton Lonesome, Marion J. Downs, Karleen Downs, Alvin Graham, Beatrice Martin, Bowen Jackson, Christine Jackson and Lilly Mae Jackson, all of Baltimore.

The State Commission argued that the two beaches were equal, but that whatever inequalities there were would be corrected.

In rendering the decision, Judge Chestnut directed the State Commission to cease discrimination against Negro bathers. However, he said that the Commission could either open the facilities to everybody or close them to everybody, but there must be no further discrimination.

LAWYER HERBERT SIMMONS *explains to Mrs. Claudia Whitmore, key figure in the segregation suit against the Southern Pacific Railroad, the ruling handed down by Judge Lucius Green, Los Angeles, California, Municipal Court, outlawing infamous "Car 20" on the Sunset Limited.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Florida: The Florida STATE CONFERENCE for branches has set its 1953 theme as "Let's Make it 10,000 in '53." The quota is only a small part of the total number of Negroes in Florida, but it will require the rolling up of sleeves and the help of every person interested in better opportunities for Negroes.

Iowa: Ike Smalls of the DES MOINES branch was honored by more than 300 friends, representing a variety of races and creeds, at a testimonial dinner at Beth El Jacob synagogue in May.

Ike Smalls has gained national recognition through his help of the poor and sick and minority groups. Mr. Smalls is an active member of the NAACP and the donor of the annual Ike Small Award to the branch with the highest membership.

Massachusetts: Mrs. Rosa C. Brown was presented a life membership in the BOSTON branch in May. Mrs. Brown has been an active worker in the branch for over thirty years and has consistently led the field in the individual solicitation of memberships with an average of over $300. Mrs. Brown's name will be placed on the life-membership tablet in the national office in New York City. The presentation to Mrs. Brown was made by branch president Lionel Lindsay.

The branch chalks up another victory with the employment of Sanders Wilborn, Jr., of Boston on the all-white waiting staff of the exclusive Meadows Restaurant in Framingham. "This marks the first time in Massachusetts," says Herbert Tucker, chairman of the branch legal redress committee, "that a major restaurant catering to a white clientele has employed white and colored waiters in the same dining room."

THIS YEAR *Ike Smalls, who usually turns in fifty or more NAACP members every year, believes he has taken in the youngest NAACP member in the country in his granddaughter Stephanie Dee Sandler. She was nine months old on May 16. Mr. Smalls has been active in NAACP work for many years.*

The matter was brought to the attention of the public last fall when Wilborn had been refused employment al-

legedly because of his race. A complaint was filed with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. After a series of conferences, the restaurant accepted a finding of probable cause by Commissioner Elwood McKenney, which resulted in a series of conciliation conferences. At the conclusion of these conferences, the restaurant agreed that it would abandon its former policy of hiring and give Wilborn employment, on an equal basis with other white waiters, at the first opportunity. The negotiations were conducted by Attorney Herbert Tucker.

Michigan: The membership drive of the DETROIT branch went beyond its goal of 7,500 members with a total of 8,272. Honored for top production in the campaign were Area 10—Dr. and Mrs. W. A. Thompson, and J. Alvoy Jones, co-ordinators; Area 9—Mrs. Irene Graves, co-ordinator; the Cotillion Club, Elbert Mack, co-ordinator; William Patrick, president; and Second Baptist church with Mrs. L. W. Terrell and Mrs. Mildred Croff, chairmen; and Ford Local 600, which led the labor group.

In its victory night celebration, the branch also honored Cpl. Jesse Robertson, first Detroit prisoner of war from Korea, who was presented with a plaque and a Harry T. Moore Memorial membership in the Association by Dr. J. J. McClendon in recognition of his service in the Armed Forces.

Minnesota: The MINNEAPOLIS branch discussed several important social and economic questions at its May 17 meeting held in the Phyllis Wheatley House. Among them were jim-crow unions, jim-crow labor contracts, and methods to be used to assure Negro children a fair chance at a good job.

Nebraska: The second Negro graduate of the Arkansas university law school was guest speaker at a recent mass meeting of the OMAHA branch. Attorney George Haley gave the main address at the beginning of the membership kick-off meeting.

New Jersey: Seven members of the METUCHEN branch wrote a letter in March to the editor of *The Metuchen Recorder* in protest against the minstrel show put on by the American Legion in that township. Excerpts from the letter follow:

"All these shows have a grand tradition behind them. They can be excellent fun as entertainment, as a means of putting on local singing and dancing talent, as a vehicle for good-natured lampooning of local personalities. It is unfortunate that one of the most important parts of the minstrel show continues to be the presentation of the 'end men' as blackface comedians.

"The names, mannerisms and dialogue, and some of the jokes of the blackface funnymen are not funny to sensitive Negroes, whether they are presented on a local stage or on a national radio network. They come down directly from the time Negroes were slaves, when they were not considered 'people' or as having feelings worth worrying about. They belong in a period when the 'jim-crow' attitude generally was acceptable. . . . We would like to point out to the good people who plan and produce minstrel shows that that period has gone by. . . . Do we want to abolish all minstrel shows? No. We would like to suggest alterations in the traditional routine which will do away with elements of prejudice. The blackface aspect might be omitted while retaining the end men. The end men might include enough different comic 'types,' ranging from Chinese to Texans to commuters to people with ulcers, to make sure that no one group remains the object of stage wit. . . ."

The ELIZABETH branch sends the following report on housing projects in that community:

"The City of Elizabeth has two housing projects, Pioneer Homes, which consists of 405 housing units, and Mrvalag Manor, which has 423 housing units. The projects were constructed about nine years ago under the Wagner-Steagall Act, which provides for slum clearance.

"Negroes have been allotted 72 segregated housing units, and occupy the same number in Pioneer Homes. No Negroes have been admitted to Mrvalag Manor.

"When an applicant, white or Negro, is accepted, he or she receives a letter from the Housing Authority advising the applicant that he or she has been approved for an apartment, but that there are no vacancies and that the applicant will be communicated with when 'an appropriate' vacancy occurs. We construe this to mean to Negroes: 'When there is a vacancy in one of the segregated 72 housing units," and to whites: 'When there is a vacancy in Pioneer Homes or Mrvalag Manor other than the 72 segregated units.'

"Suit has been instituted in the Chancery Division of the Superior Court of New Jersey by thirteen Negroes, seven of whom have received letters from the aforesaid Housing Authority stating that they have been approved, and six representing hardship cases. The letters of acceptance have been photostated and attached to the complaints as exhibits.

"From the 72 segregated units allotted to Negroes, only five families have moved out in the past 15 months. From Mrvalag Manor and the other section of Pioneer Homes which are not occupied by Negroes, 114 families have moved out. Thus, only five families could be served in 15 months. The Housing Authority is planning the construction of another 250 unit project.

"The suit demands an injunctive judgment and the relief demanded is in seven paragraphs. . . ."

New York: On the heels of a very successful Negro history week program, the AMITYVILLE branch gave a testimonial dinner in honor of its former president, Major L. Braxton, and presented him with a gold watch. Guest speakers were Walter White, of the national office, and Louis Levine, field representative of the CIO. The testimonial dinner launched a drive for 1,500 new members.

The newly elected officers announced by the JAMAICA branch are as follows: Florence Lucas, president; Dr. Judge Thompson, first vice-president; Basie McCain, second vice-president; David Kelly, third vice-president; Joscelyn Smith, secretary; Una Mulzas, assistant secretary; and Hillary Thorne, treasurer. Members of the executive board are Samuel Allen, Lois Allen, Lawrence Bailey, Slna Giradeau, Stanley Greene, Jesse Henriques, Irving Karp, Stanley Cunningham, Barbara Ellman, Charles McKinney, Leonard Upperman, Chester Alston, Guy Brewer, Olivia Frost, Grace Sevier, Jacob Smith, and Marion Pinckney.

According to the NEW YORK CITY branch the Princess Hotel in Hamilton, Bermuda, recently acquired by Pan-American Airways, will continue its policy of refusing admission to Negroes as guests.

Dr. James Allen, former New York state president of NAACP branches, wrote a letter on March 20, 1953, to the executive offices of the airline inquiring as to its policy towards Negroes in the hotel under its new management. When Dr. Allen discussed the matter with a Mr. Gentry, representative of the Intercontinental Hotel Corporation, the operating subsidiary of Pan-American, he was told that the company could not afford to defy the customs of Bermuda. He said that they would run the risk of financial loss if Negroes were permitted to stay in the hotel.

North Carolina. The legislative committee of the STONY CREEK TOWNSHIP branch has started a campaign for full integration of Negroes in the state-supported schools of North Carolina.

Pennsylvania: The educational committee of the ERIE branch is sponsoring a Harry T. Burleigh scholarship fund. Last December Mayor Thomas Flatley proclaimed Tuesday, December 2, as "Harry T. Burleigh Memorial Day" to help the branch in sponsoring its scholarship.

Tennessee: At a recent meeting of the executive committee of the NASHVILLE branch, after a careful review of the Paul Hockett and the James Petre cases, and other sex crimes which have occurred recently, it was voted that the branch make public its feelings in regard to the racially charged atmosphere created by the news slanting in these cases.

Paul Hockett, 12, was accused of rape and although, according to law, a child under fourteen is presumed incapable of committing a crime, Hockett was held for more than two months without bail. Then the daily papers published Hockett's picture and wrote up the offense in such a manner as to create the impression that only Negroes are sex offenders. In the Petre case, which involved a white, the papers tried to give the impression that Petre was innocent even though the girl spent two weeks in the hospital.

Virginia: The FARMVILLE branch recently sponsored a unit queens contest to raise money. Total monies collected by the queens totaled $593.92. Prizes were awarded to the three top contestants of each unit and a grand prize was awarded to the county queen by state secretary, W. Lester Banks.

Youth Council News

Connecticut: The Yale university chapter of the NAACP successfully aided a Negro family to obtain new living quarters in an apartment from which they had been previously barred.

Joel Adler, chairman of the chapter housing committee, reports that Edward Noble, a Negro Korean war veteran, was denied consideration as a tenant because, as the landlord claimed, "All other residents are white and they would not like it."

THE AMITYVILLE, N. Y., BRANCH *advertises with this billboard at the South East corner of Sunrise Highway and Albany Avenue in Amityville. It can be seen by traffic moving in three directions.*

Richard Dyer, '53, and Frank Polestra, graduate students, interviewed Noble and later proceeded to question the residents of the community as to whether or not they would resent having a Negro family for neighbors. The results of this inquiry, which revealed no substantial objection to Negro families moving in, was presented to the landlord with a recommendation for reconsideration. The landlord accepted the findings of the survey and rented the apartment to Noble.

Florida: The Tampa youth council has organized a soft ball team to furnish recreation for the summer months. According to secretary William Scott, the boys will be completely uniformed with "NAACP" initialed on their jerseys. They will compete in the recently organized league in Hillsborough county.

Massachusetts: Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth secretary, speaking at Radcliffe college before a meeting sponsored jointly by the Harvard and Radcliffe chapters of the NAACP, charged British Colonial Office troops in Kenya with deliberately and wantonly killing hundreds of innocent Africans under the guise of rooting out Mau-Mau terrorists in that country.

Mr. Wright added: "The British Colonial Office is tending to the symptoms rather than the real causes of the Kenya conflict."

Meanwhile, he observed, decent people throughout the world are sitting idly by while the British government commits this purge of real and imagined political non-conformists to current British policies in that East African colony.

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★ ★ ★

That the Italian novelist Alberto Moravia (1907-) has a Negro character, Homs, in his short story "Agostino" (1944)? Homs is member of a gang of adolescents ranging in age from thirteen to seventeen and is described as having thin lips and an almost aquiline nose.

College and School News

HAMPTON INSTITUTE announces its first annual pre-college summer sessions for high school graduates, a course designed to correct student faults in the tool subjects of mathematics and English and to ease their transition from high school to college.

■

FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE faculty and alumni tendered Dr. James W. Seabrook a testimonial banquet in May in recognition of his twenty years' service as president. Principal speaker for the occasion was Dr. Seabrook's long-time friend, Dr. Sidney Williams.

Baccalaureate speaker on May 31 was Bishop Raymond Jones of Salisbury, N. C. The commencement speaker on June 2 was Dr. Hornell Hart, professor of sociology at Duke university.

■

Harold T. Pinkett, first Negro archivist at the National Archives, Washington, D. C., received the Ph. D. degree in history and archival administration at THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C., in June. He is the first Negro scholar to receive the doctorate with major study in these two subjects.

■

KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE was host April 29-May 1 to the State Association for New Farmers of America at its ninth annual convention and livestock and poultry judging contest.

Professor A. J. Richards, head of the college romance language department, was one of the speakers at the first general session of the sixth annual University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference held in Lexington.

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY was host in May to the debate teams from ten colleges. These were entrants in the annual debate tournament. A special convocation was held at the university on April 27 honoring students who had made a "B" average or above.

Argie Lena Kelley, a junior from Beaumont, Texas, will represent the university on the sixth annual European seminar tour this summer. The seminar, sponsored by the National Student Council of the YWCA, will visit Yugoslavia, England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland.

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HAROLD T. PINKETT *of the National Archives, Washington, D. C., has received a Ph. D. in history from The American University, Washington.*

The chairman's report of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS reveals that there are more candidates under consideration for major scholarships at leading colleges throughout the United States than ever before. According to the report, twenty-five percent more qualified students applied for help than did last year.

■

The NSSFNS is the recipient of a two-year $170,000 grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education of

the Ford Foundation for a southwide talent search. This grant will help NSSFNS expand its program of searching out able Negro students in the segregated South for scholarship aid toward their education in the North.

■

Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of Detroit's Central Methodist Church, was main speaker at CLARK COLLEGE's eighty-fourth commencement exercises on June 9. The baccalaureate address was delivered on June 7 by Dr. M. LaFayette Harris, president of Philander-Smith College.

■

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE's seventy-first annual commencement exercises were held June 2, with Dr. Chi Waggoner, president of Phiffer junior college, as the principal speaker. Bishop Herbert Bell preached the commencement sermon.

The college was host in May to a conference on men-women relationships, with Dr. Samuel Gandy of Virginia State serving as the chief consultant.

■

TALLADEGA COLLEGE's Dr. Earl Hoerger, head of the chemistry department, has co-authored two articles in the "Journal of the American Chemical Society" during recent months; Dr. John Morrow, professor of modern foreign languages, presented a paper on "François Mauriac and Therese Desqueyroux" before the romance language section of the College Language Association meeting held at Tennessee State University, Nashville; and sociology professor, Dr. Donald Rasmussen, has an article on "Prison Opinions About Parole" in *Criminology: A Book of Readings*, a Dryden Press publication edited by Clyde Vedder, Samuel Koenig, and Robert Clark.

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE's president, Dr. Charles Wesley, and other CSC administrators and faculty members attended, April 17-18, the 82nd meeting of the Ohio College Association and Allied Societies held at Ohio State University.

Central State was host in April to the All-Ohio Methodist Student spring conference, with Eugene Durham of Northwestern University Wesley Foundation

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as the principal speaker. Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society of CSC awarded ten certificates of merit to students holding high scholastic cumulative averages on "honors day."

■

Dr. William Wallace, who has been serving as acting president of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE since October 22, 1952, was named president of the institution by the West Virginia State Board of Education on April 6 at a meeting in Charleston. Dr. Wallace succeeds Dr. John W. Davis, president emeritus, who now heads the "point four" program in Liberia, West Africa.

Nineteenth annual women's day program was observed at the college on May 3, with Dr. Margaret Butcher of Howard University as the main speaker. This event is sponsored annually by the Women's Senate of the college. Eleventh speaking contest in the Spanish language was held April 30.

Dr. Harrison Ferrell, dean, has been elected president of the Council of State Supported Colleges, a group in the West Virginia Association of Higher Education. Dr. Herman Canady, professor of psychology, has been unanimously selected as president-elect of the West Virginia Psychological Association.

■

Releases from the office of the registrar at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE reveal that eighty-eight students made the dean's list during the winter quarter.

Albany State was host April 10-11 to The National Alumni Association, a group of thirty-eight colleges and universities. Representatives were present from eleven states and twenty institutions.

■

SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE's amateur radio club has been granted a license by FCC to operate a short wave radio station, W4ZJS; the college also has a new water storage tank, and in April dedicated its new George Washington Carver Gym-Auditorium.

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DR. WILLIAM WALLACE, *the new president of West Virginia State College.*

Sixth annual men's festival was celebrated at vespers April 26, with W. H. Aiken, prominent business leader of Atlanta, as principal speaker.

Second annual institute for ministers and laymen was held at SSC on June 15. The institute offers instruction in Christian ethics, English grammar, Biblical literature, worship, and methods of teaching religious education.

■

Three new trustees have been elected to the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY board: Henry Minton, president of Church & Dwight Co., Inc., New York City; Dr. Sherman L. Greene, Bishop of the AME church of Georgia; and Dr. Albert E. Manley, the president-elect of Spelman college.

Associate professor of English, Dr. Thomas Jarrett, has received a Ford Foundation fellowship to carry on research work abroad during the coming academic year. Dr. Jarrett's field of specialization is 19th and 20th century English and American literature.

The oil painting, "To the Future," by the New York artist Charles White, won first prize in the university's 12th annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists.

Twenty students enrolled in the school of library service toured the libraries of Washington, D. C., during April. Mrs. David McAlpin of Princeton, N. J., daughter of the late New

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York philanthropist and AU benefactor, Dean Sage, attended the dedication of AU's new classroom building, Dean Sage Hall.

■

Dr. Rosemary Park, president of Connecticut college in New London, delivered the founders' day address at SPELMAN COLLEGE in April. Annual concert of the college glee club, under the direction of Willis James, was given in Sisters Chapel on April 10.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY celebrated its twenty-fourth annual festival of music and art on April 22, with the first concert of the festival by the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Highlight of the festival was a dance recital, "Fiesta in Haiti," featuring the Haitian Dance Group.

The Delta of Tennessee chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was installed at Fisk on April 4, with Dr. Goodrich White, president of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa and president of Emory university, officiating at the installation ceremonies.

Fisk's new basic college curriculum goes into operation with the opening of school next September. This marks the most far-reaching changes in the university's program in twenty years. The basic college is primarily concerned with "general education" and is open to qualified students who have completed the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grades.

Fisk received $300,000 during the annual trustees convocation in April from the estate of Paul D. Cravath, for thirty years a member of the Fisk board of trustees.

Dr. Shearley Roberts, professor of psychology and education, has been awarded a $5,400 fellowship from the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation "to afford you the opportunity further to prepare yourself for effective teaching."

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE was the sole Negro institution, and the only Maryland school, represented at the recent Amherst college science conference in May.

Retiring Morgan trustee, Judge Morris Soper was honored at a campus-wide assembly program and eulogized for his "devoted services to Morgan" during a luncheon. On May 17 the alumni honored Judge Soper at a testimonial dinner.

Dr. William Burghardt, head of the department of health and physical education, has been named secretary-elect of the safety education division for the eastern district of the American Association of Health and Physical Education and Recreation.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) is offering a limited number of scholarships to student actors and technicians in its second annual summer theatre and school of the theatre, June 16-August 7.

Annual high school music festival was held at Lincoln on April 17, with a large list of entries. The festival is non-competitive and schools are rated according to their respective classes and receive appraisals of their performances.

Specialists and management representatives from fourteen different major employment areas met at Lincoln May 12-13 for the university's first all-university career conference.

■

Second annual FLORIDA A AND M COLLEGE community day observance was held in May. Purpose of the day is to bring the college and community closer together.

Workshops are an integral part of the college's summer session program, June 15-August 14. The workshops are in addition to the regular summer program.

Ground has been broken for construction of a $250,000 ROTC building

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■

Many rare African art pieces were displayed at the HOWARD UNIVERSITY art gallery May 6-10 in the university's exhibition of African Negro art, a part of the university's festival of fine arts.

Eleven Howard students, nine seniors and two juniors, were inducted into Phi Beta Kappa on April 8, following the formal presentation of the national honorary fraternity charter to the university. The installment address was delivered by Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Faculty fellowships for advanced study in the fields of sociology and government have been awarded two members of the Howard college of liberal arts. The Fund for the Advancement of Education has awarded Dr. G. Franklin Edwards a grant for advanced study in demography, and Dr. Robert Martin a grant to study the content and organization of courses required of all students.

■

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VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host April 20-24 to the twenty-first annual conference on marriage and family relations; on April 1-3, to the annual meeting of The Association of Deans of Women and Advisers to Girls in Negro Schools, and the National Association of Personnel Deans and Advisers to Men in Negro Educational Institutions; on May 1, the annual little international livestock show, and the annual open house of the school of industries.

■

Annual honors days was observed at SHAW UNIVERSITY April 29, with Dr. Joseph Taylor of the department of history at North Carolina college delivering the address.

Moses DeLaney, acting chairman of the division of philosophy and religion, has been admitted to candidacy for the Ph. D. degree at Drew university, Madison, New Jersey.

■

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE's biology department has been awarded a research grant of $5,395 from the Atomic Energy Commission to study the function of the thyroid gland by the use of radioactive iodine. The investigation will be conducted by Dr. James H. Birnie, Dr. Everett Mapp, and Dr. S. M. Nabrit.

The college debating team won second place and a trophy in the Southeastern Debating Tournament held recently in Atlanta. First prize went to the University of South Carolina. With the exception of Morehouse all the other participating colleges were white.

Psi chapter of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity led the four Greek-letter fraternites in scholastic average for the first semester of the current school year. Scholastic average for the Omegas was 2.58.

Book Reviews

FORCES OF FEAR

***The Outsider.* A novel by Richard Wright. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. 405 pp. $3.95.**

It is today a matter of serious concern in high academic circles that from the creative literature of our times has come no full-sized, tragic hero. Cross Damon, the foremost of at least a dozen "outsiders" in Richard Wright's new novel, is a protagonist who fits the prescription. Deeply realized, in great measure Byronic, in greater measure symbolic of the prime force of contemporary civilization: fear, we meet him for what he first means on page 2:

"Crossy, how come you're drinking so much these days?" Booker asked in a tone free of moral objections.

"My soul needs it," Cross mumbled.

"Makes you feel better, hunh?" Booker asked.

"No. Makes me feel *less,*" Cross corrected him.

True, Cross, who has come into his name- and psychological heritage by reason of his mother's fierce devotion to an invisible and forbidding God, is an extension of the pattern of murder motivated by fear as formulated in *Native Son.* But he is so much more Bigger that one is led to read that his reactions gather a dignity, however proud, apart from their supposed origin. Moreover, Cross loves as profoundly as he hates, and thinks as deeply as he feels.

A proud man laying about him with the sword of terror, he cannot kill the thing he loves—Eva; an intelligent man with a probing mind, he has thought his way "through the many veils of illusion," and thus "stripped himself of the hopes and consolations of the mass of mankind"; a psychological creation which is "Negro" man, he is endowed with a "double vision" which gives him the peculiar perspective of standing at once *inside* and *outside* of our culture: hence, "Every emotional and cultural convulsion that ever shook the heart and soul of Western man" shakes him, and he wonders why some people are "fated, like Job, to live a never ending debate between themselves and their sense of what they believed life should be?" A man, he is naturally moved by the desire for "the body of woman as woman," often too intensively given over to the given moment. Such is Cross Damon the character.

The novel structure in which he moves and realizes his being is an ingeniously woven tale of two cities. Action packed, *The Outsider* leads us from the dawn of South Side Chicago to the darkness of Manhattan's Central Park. Cross enters as a postal clerk living physically and/or spiritually outside his family and friends, and trapped between the threats of an enraged wife set on revenge and an impregnated child-sweetheart set on marrying him—or else. How he manages to rid himself of

his wife and then of his terrible situation is a feat of intuitive insight and narrative cunning worthy of a Homer. With weird curiosity he finds a hiding place from which he observes his funeral and a few days later is headed for New York City. On the train he meets Bob, another "outsider" with whom he shares a "defensive solidarity" in response to "latent white hostility," but also district attorney Ely Houston (yet another "outsider"), between whom and Cross there is fought out upon the darkling plain of psychological spirits a Dostoevskian battle of intuitive wills.

Once Cross is settled in New York the Communists begin to make provisions for his indoctrination. The result of his decision to feign cooperation with their plans for him is the most shattering evidence against Communism yet recorded—if not the most devastating possible. Moreover, this story is all the more significant for the reason that there was great need for someone of political, intellectual and artistic integrity to tell it. Nevertheless, it will afford no measure of comfort for the Byrnes's and the Bilbo's who are hardly less real and ruthless as ideological cancers festering in the body politic of the Free World. For if Gil, Hilton, and Menti are representative of an obsessing "*life* strategy using political methods as its tools," so is Herndon the epitome of a system of social tyranny equally evil and thorough in its capacity to warp the minds of men into instruments of hell. And it is with this story, in the telling of which Cross meets Eva, that *The Outsider* cuts its sure way into classic greatness as a work of art. Here Damon becomes multi-dimensional, a credibly coherent part of all he has met as modern man. In this respect, the "irrational compulsion" which spells murder to those for whom he has contempt and fear becomes less arguable, since he is also man as nation.

The supporting cast in *The Outsider* reveals as never before that Wright knows woman with all the penetrating thoroughness of a Strindberg. Cross' mother, whom her son knew too well, had returned to teaching in the South after pursuing in vain the man who betrayed her love. But she was ever to relive her sad story and transfer both the passion and the blame for it from father to son. Gladys, his wife, whom he knew as well, had turned to mercenary vindictiveness after losing him on the terms by which she had won him. From Dot, whose craving for security expressed itself through deception, he learned that "A woman's business is emotion and her trade is carried on in cash of tears. . . ." Cross was not to experience a true love until Eva came to him out of the trap which the Party had sprung on her. And when at last it came, the shadow of Cross' violent past was to snuff its light.

It is quite likely that the little men with big words will beat upon Wright's creation, for they who stand upon the principles of the Pharisee at the temple and thank *their* God that they are not like the others (and certainly not quite like the others) will reject this book. They are too much like the fish who could not conceive of water. They live by the fear which is the novel's basic theme and moral:

"White folks in America, France, and Italy are the scaredest folks that ever lived on this earth. They're scareda Reds, Chinese, Indians, Africans, *everybody*."

"But how come you reckon they so scared?" an elderly man asked.

"Cause they're guilty," the tall man explained. "And guilty folks are *scared* folks! . . ."

Nevertheless, what is here rendered is a true account of our times in humble and facile prose, an eloquently articulate reading of the handwriting on the iron walls of contemporary civilization. It puts before us as only a truly gifted artist can, a character (among characters), a novel, and a question in di-

mensions hardly equaled by any other American novelist who ever lived. Indeed, this, above all, is the artist's responsibility. "As they see or fail to see, understand, act or fail to act, so may the warm sun continue to shine upon living men or the cold moon rise upon an empty earth."

HENRY F. WINSLOW.

HENRY F. WINSLOW is a regular *Crisis* book reviewer.

A WOMAN ON WOMEN

***The Second Sex.* By Simone de Beauvoir. Translated and edited by H. M. Parshley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. XXX+732+XIVpp. $10.00.**

Four years ago Mlle de Beauvoir's two-volume *Le Deuxième Sexe* caused quite a stir in France. As France's second Existentialist next to Jean-Paul Sartre and a widely read novelist, dramatist, and essayist almost anything she writes is likely to be eagerly read and often bitterly debated. She is a close friend of Richard Wright and she dedicated her travel diary, *America Day by Day* (1948), "To Ellen and Richard Wright." Four months spent in America in 1947 aroused her interest in the Negro and his problems and this same interest continually pops up in analogies made in *The Second Sex* between the positions of Negroes and women in a "male dominated" society.

But despite the encyclopediac proportions of this book and its fervid style its thesis is dubious. Mlle de Beauvoir argues, with a wealth of detail, that the peculiar position of woman in civilization (or more correctly her position in the French variety of Western Civilization) is the result of male oppression and cruelty. Yet the author never seems able to make up her mind whether to blame woman's "inferiority" on culture or biology, or both. Since woman is biologically specialized as a reproductive agent, the disabilities which flow from this function cannot be justly placed upon man although his pigheadedness and lack of understanding aggravate them.

Unfortunately, Nature is not progressive, has no modern ideas, no arguments either in support of patient Griselda or Monique Lerbier, and it is woman she has selected for the child bearer. Brilliant or stupid, educated or ignorant, beautiful or ugly, it is always the woman who carries the child—not the man. And no matter how helpful and sympathetic the father, it is always the mother who is responsible for the early care of feeding and washing and diapering.

This is a central fact which Mlle de Beauvoir does not like, and which is really at the basis of her "gripes." She seems to detest children and to be completely unaware of the compensations of motherhood, and sometimes the reader wonders if she doesn't detest all women—except the intellectual and artistic few.

Her book is full of hasty generalizations, caricatures of American women, and almost as many female myths about males as those male myths about females she punctures in Part III. Perhaps no previous woman writer on women has devoted so many pages to the horrors of female sexuality: ". . . le sexe féminin est mystérieux pour la femme elle-même, caché, tourmenté, muqueux, humide; il saigne chaque mois, il est parfois souilleé d'humeurs, il a une vie secrète et dangereuse."

Though this feminist tract is perhaps not a masterpiece, it is a brilliant, though often contradictory and confused, piece of writing. Especially penetrating are her analyses of female eroticism, and the formative years of the young girl. All readers will applaud her insistence that women are human beings who should have opportunities commensurate with their talents.

(*Continued on page* 386)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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NOTICE TO CRISIS SUBSCRIBERS

The next issue of *The Crisis* is the August-September number out September 1. Don't be disturbed when you fail to receive a magazine on August 1.

BOOK REVIEWS

(*Continued from page* 383)

The translator says he has "done some cutting and condensation here and there with a view to brevity, chiefly in reducing the extent of the author's illustrative material. . . ." He has also substituted innocuous English words for a few of the author's earthier French originals.

RELIGION IN AN AFRICAN CITY. By Oxford University Press, 1953. Geoffrey Parrinder, D.D. New York: 211pp.. $3.00.

An account of the religious practices in Ibadan, Nigeria, the largest city (400,000 population) in tropical Africa. Ibadanians follow a variety of faiths ranging from African paganism (strictly a European term) through Islam, Christianity, and a variety of separatist sects which are offshoots of the various mission churches. Islam is dominant in the north and is spreading much more rapidly than the Christianity which predominates in the south. Native beliefs, though persistent, show the influence of both Islam and Christianity. The reverse is also true, since many "pagan practices" have crept into both Islam and Christianity.

Details of this syncretism is the subject of Dr. Parrinder's book. He briefly summarizes the essence of African religion, traces the influence of Islam, especially in the north; gives a brief history of the various Christian missions and explains how the separatist sects came into being. Ancestor worship, personal religion, secret societies, and the relation of religion to morality round out his study.

This book is especially valuable to students of comparative religion and religious syncretism because it is one of the few field studies by an expert of the actual religious practices of an African people.

THE TAYLOR FAMILY

(*Continued from Page* 343)

County); a leader of the Intermediate Girl Scout Troop; Sunday School teacher and church organist.

Betty, 14, their older daughter, plays the clarinet in the high school band, last year won the Roselle's girl's tennis championship and is secretary of the Senior Girl Scouts. Jean, 11, is president of the Lincoln School Music Club and has received national recognition for her poster drawings. The whole Taylor family sings in the Episcopal Church choir. Finding himself with a few minutes to spare time on his hands, Lou Taylor is thinking of assuming the post of neighborhood Cub Scoutmaster. He and his wife have a special interest in helping young people. Every year the Roselle Women's Service League awards a Union County Band and Orchestra School scholarship in memory of their only son, Louis Robert Taylor, 14, who was an outstanding student, athlete and school musician when he was stricken with infantile paralysis and died suddenly in the summer of 1949.
ship in memory of their own only son, Louis Robert Taylor, 14, who was an outstanding student, athlete and school musician when he was stricken with infantile paralysis and died suddenly in the summer of 1949.

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